

vouch for the fact that medicine is a mess, managed care is not working very well; and, hopefully, we do something good to improve it. Unfortunately, I am not all that optimistic.

I support this rule because it is dealing with a very difficult subject and it brings the Democratic base bill to the floor. I do not see why we should not be able to amend that bill, so I do support the rule.

But the IRS code has 17,000 pages of regulation. The regulations that we as physicians have to put up with are 132,000 pages. Most everything I see that is happening today is we are going to increase those pages by many more thousands. So I am not optimistic that is going to do a whole lot of good.

I think we went astray about 30-some years ago in the direction of medical care when the government, the Federal Government, got involved. The first thing is we changed our attitude and our definition of what "rights" are. We call this a Patients' Bill of Rights. It has very little to do with rights, because most of what we do in medicine, we undermine individual rights.

We have a right in society, in a free society, to our life and our liberty, and we have a right to use that liberty to pursue our happiness and provide for our own well-being. We do not have a right to medical care. One has no more right to a service than one has a right to go into someone else's garage and steal an automobile. So the definition of "rights" has been abused for 30 years, but the current understanding is that people have a right to services. So I think that is a serious flaw and it has contributed to our problem today.

The other serious flaw that we have engaged in now for 30 years is the dictation of contract. For 30 years now under ERISA and tax laws, we have forced upon the American people a medical system where we dictate all the rules and regulations on the contracts; and it causes nothing but harm and confusion. Today's effort is trying to clear this up; and, unfortunately, it is not going to do much good.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) really said it well, probably one of the understatement of the day, when he said that the managed care system is not working very well.

In the last 2 weeks, 20,000 Michigan seniors have been told that they will lose their health insurance. They are being dropped by their HMO health insurers who are abandoning their commitments. Our seniors are getting broken promises instead of the care that they expected and the care that they deserve.

Now, on top of that, we get this double whammy that has come before us, yesterday and today. For 6 years the American people have been waiting for a Patients' Bill of Rights. For 6 years insurance companies have done every-

thing they can to block it. Access to the nearest emergency room, insurance companies say no; give doctors the authority to make the medical decisions that are right; insurance companies say no; hold HMOs accountable for denying patients the care they need, the HMOs and insurance companies say no.

The deal cut yesterday, the deal that is being rushed through this House so we do not have to read the fine print, and, boy, if there was ever one area you wanted to read fine print, it is this area, is not a Patients' Bill of Rights, it is an insurance company bill of rights.

It is a radical betrayal of the public trust. Instead of protecting patients, it protects HMOs. Instead of helping patients get the care they need, it puts more roadblocks in that patient's way. Instead of giving injured patients the right to seek justice, it gives HMOs special immunity from the lawsuits and the standards and the laws that every other American business must uphold.

Mr. Speaker, it is time we hold the insurance companies accountable. Pass a true Patients' Bill of Rights. Defeat all these poison pill amendments that this rule would make in order. Pass a good bill. Vote no on the previous question, vote no on this rule.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, even though I am a new conservative Member of this institution, I came to Congress anxious to support a Patients' Bill of Rights. I became involved in the front end of this debate to preserve our free market health care system and to strengthen patient choice.

For too long, Mr. Speaker, I believe Congress has walked by on the other side of the road, leaving patients, doctors and well-meaning employers to fend for themselves in an increasingly complex health care economy.

What we have before us today is truly a bipartisan Patient Protection Act that will provide protections for all Americans, and trust doctors with the power to make medical decisions, and so it will also encourage employers to provide quality health insurance for their employees.

I urge all of my colleagues, regardless of your stripe or party, let doctors provide timely care, give patients choice, and let this Congress end the decade of walking by on the other side of the road, and speed this timely aid to patients, doctors and well-meaning employers.

Support the bipartisan Patient Protection Act.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

(Mr. GREEN of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I looked forward to this day when we could have a Patients' Bill of Rights on the floor, but after seeing what happened, I am so disappointed and so frustrated, and I think that is what is going to happen with the American people.

Instead of a Patients' Bill of Rights, we have a patients' bill of wrongs. We have a Patients' Bill of Rights that is masquerading, but it is really the patients' bill of wrongs.

What it does is it transfers the decision-making from the State courts, where in Texas we have it now, to under Federal rules in State courts; and that is wrong, and nowhere in our jurisprudence history do we have that. So it is going to make it harder.

It gives a presumption for the HMO so they are right and you have to prove them wrong. We are actually going to increase litigation. My colleagues do not want more litigation. When you give that right to the insurance companies, you are going to make people hire an attorney just to go through the appeals process, and that is wrong.

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In Texas, we had a Patients' Bill of Rights for 4 years, very few lawsuits, 1,400 appeals, 52 percent in favor of the patient. So more than half the time, the HMO was wrong; and they are wrong today.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BOEHNER), the chairman of the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding me this time, and I congratulate the Committee on Rules for bringing to the floor the Patients' Bill of Rights.

Let us not make any mistake about what this bill is. It is the same patient protections that we have talked about for years. It is the base bill. There is only one real change in the bill that we are going to bring to the floor today, and that is in the area of how much liability we are going to impose on employers and insurers.

Many of us believe, under the base bill, that we will have unlimited lawsuits that will tremendously increase costs for both employers and their employees, and as a matter of fact, I believe will cause tens of millions of Americans to lose their health insurance because of these increased costs. That is unacceptable when we have 43 million Americans with no health insurance at all.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. NORWOOD) will offer a compromise that he struck with the President that does provide for greater remedies and greater access to courts for those who have been injured. But it will not unduly raise the cost of health insurance and it will not force employers out of employer-provided coverage.

I think it strikes the right balance for the American people and we ought